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AUTHOR Gaudelli, Bill
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ABSTRACT

This study used an ethnographic approach to analyze data on the teacher as self in the high school social studies classroom, examining patterns in social studies pedagogy and how the teacher's self is manifested in global education classrooms. Data came from observation reports, interviews, and document analyses at three high schools. Teacher interviews examined their personal backgrounds, then focused on identity. The data showed a distinct pattern in social studies pedagogy in that the teacher's self was manifested in global education classrooms. Teacher identity categories included gender, occupation, religious background, family history, athletic background, ethnic identity, and travel. Teachers, in part due to their identities, taught differently, specifically with regard to how they selected content, the amount of time and emphasis placed on topics, and how they characterized course content related to their identity. Ambiguity about relativism and universalism was a consistent pattern found among most study participants. The lack of clarity with regard to the teacher's beliefs about relativism in global education manifested itself in classrooms. Teachers either avoided or sensationalized controversial issues in global education classrooms, stemming from their personal discomfort with engaging judgments in the classroom in a reasoned, methodical manner. (Contains 11 references.) (SM)

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Teacher as Self: Understanding Pedagogy in Global Education

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Bill Gaudelli
Rutgers-Graduate School of Education
Teachers College-Columbia University
259 N. Main St.
New Hope, PA 18938
wgaudell@erols.com

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The dawn of a new millennium makes plain the revolutionary human changes that have occurred over the last 1000 years. In the year 1000, the world was a distinctly different place, as were the experiences of its inhabitants. Few people ventured far beyond their place of origin, as travel was expensive and dangerous. While there were exceptions, as illustrated by the expansion of Islam throughout the Mediterranean Basin, the Arabian Peninsula and Central Asia, provincial life was the norm (Spodek, 1998, p.327). In 2000, global travel and communication has become the norm, especially with regard to international business. The marketplace for goods and services has rapidly changed from towns, states and nations to continents and the planet. Distinct and somewhat permanent political boundaries, a creation of the last millenium, are quickly losing meaning beyond nostalgic value, in the European Union. The dawning of a new millennium is ushering in the reality of a global society.

Education, too, has experienced great changes in the last millennium, especially the last century. 1000 years ago, formal academic education, similar to what we know today, was largely the domain of religious institutions and reserved for the monastic few. Vocational learning, such as apprenticeships, was another means of formal education, one that lacked a theoretical basis. Societies were dominated by farming so agrarian skills were taught as a means of sustenance and, indeed, survival. Education generally took place in families, where learning was usually informal and the printed word was virtually unknown. The 20th Century saw a marked increase in educational institutions throughout the world, largely as a result of the shift towards industrial societies from agrarian ones. Not only did more schools exist, but more people had access to formal education, and, to varying degrees, their society's version of the "good life."

Globalization, defined herein as the process of drawing upon increasingly diverse elements of the world, and the expansion of formal education coincide to create a unique circumstance in the history of the world. Never before has so much been known about the world and have so many people been in a position to learn what is known. Thus, we stand at the beginning of a new era, the Information Age, post-Industrial and post-Agrarian, where the expansion of knowledge will serve as the basis for human interactions. Global education, a field of study emerging from social studies education, sits at the confluence of these megatrends: globalization and expansive access to education.

In 1988, the New Jersey State Board of Education required school districts to implement a third year of social studies in high school curricula: global education. Defined in the document World

History/Cultures Curriculum Guide, school districts were charged with the task of implementing a course of study to teach about the world. This significant curricular change has been in place for a decade in New Jersey schools, yet little is known about the manner in which teachers and students study the world and its people. The New Jersey World History/Cultures Curriculum Guide allows great variability in curriculum design and teacher approaches. Courses of study examined herein range from traditional world history courses to studies about global issues. These courses, despite their diversity, all satisfy the same curricular mandate, thus illustrating the non-directive nature of the framework. The manner in which the courses are taught, similarly, allows for a great deal of difference among the teachers in the three high schools studied. Teachers were granted sizable choice in which topics to focus upon and even greater control as to how these topics would be taught.

The significant pedagogical freedom identified in this study allowed teachers' selves to manifest in their classrooms. The identities of the teachers resonated throughout the study both in terms of the selection of content and in the manner in which topics were presented. The beliefs of the teachers also became apparent with regard to the quandary of cultural relativism in global education. The data presented herein shows a distinct and significant pattern in social studies pedagogy: a teacher's self is manifested in global education classrooms.

Methodology

This study employs a qualitative methodology involving an ethnographic approach and the grounded theory method for data analysis. Grounded theory was first articulated by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and elaborated upon by qualitative researchers over the past 30 years. It has been used to generate "abstract analytical schema of a phenomenon that relates to a particular situation" where theory does not exist or is not well developed (Creswell, 1998, p.56). This condition fits precisely the state of our knowledge regarding approaches to global education in New Jersey.

Ethnographic research allows participants to speak with their own voices about the phenomena that they experience. The context for this type of research is crucial to understanding, since the inquiry attempts to explain and analyze the relationships of seemingly disparate and disconnected behaviors and values in particular settings. Often these relationships are unknown to the participants. As Spindler (1982) suggests, "A significant task of ethnography is therefore to make explicit what is implicit and tacit to

informants and participants in the social settings being studied" (p.7). In ethnographic research, one does not simply record the occurrences in a particular setting; rather, one analyzes and interprets the patterns of beliefs and behaviors as they interact within the social setting.

The data of this ethnographic study is drawn from observation reports, interviews and document analyses. This process of data collection was selected since it offered the best opportunity to "Understand the world from the subjects' points of view, to unfold the meaning of peoples' experiences to uncover their lived world (Kvale, 1996, p. 1). Table 1.1 summarizes the data collection for teachers in this study.

Table 1.1
Data Collection

	Bart High School	**Valley High School**	**Sunny Brook High School**	**Totals**
Demographics	urban/inner city northern region Latino& African-Am.	rural southern region white, Latino, African-Am.	suburban central region ethnically diverse	---
Grade Level	9th	9th	12th	
Teachers/ Curriculum Planners Interviewed	5	5	4	14
Students Interviewed	10	9	10	27
Classroom Observations	22 forty-five minute periods	16 forty-five minute periods	12 ninety minute periods	50 observations 46 hours

Note- All names are pseudonyms.

Data on Identity

I began all of the teachers' initial interviews with questions about their personal background. Some of the teachers were uncomfortable talking about their lives and identities. Mrs. Dilley, for example, after I asked her to talk about her personal life, said, "Well, ok...(long pause). I don't see how this is related, but...." After I completed the first interview with Mrs. Finberg she wondered aloud why I was asking about her background. I simply said that it helps me to see them as more than only a teacher: as a complete individual. Mrs. Gormley also seemed confused about my intentions when I asked questions about her religious affiliation, responding initially in a hesitant manner. Despite some initial uncertainty, all of the teachers were open to sharing their life experiences with me in greater detail than I had ever anticipated.

The teachers who were surprised by questions about their identities were making an assumption: that the teaching of global education courses is separate from who they are as people. I, conversely, was simply trying to gain a deeper understanding of the lives of the people in the study so that I could fairly and accurately contextualize their voices. What emerged, however, was an in situ hypothesis, later borne out by the data that was really quite surprising: the presence of a relationship between the teachers' identities and the manner in which they approached the courses they taught. Interestingly, I was unaware of the relationship until an outside reviewer of my data identified the emergent pattern.

The elements of identity that seemed to affect teacher pedagogy varied. The teacher identity categories included: gender, occupation, religious background, family history, athletic background and ethnic identity. Teachers, due in part to their identities, taught differently, specifically with regard to how they selected content, the amount of time and emphasis placed on topics and how they characterized course content related to their identity. Since there are many interactions of the data on this issue, some individuals will be examined in greater depth, rather than attempting to explain the interactions of pedagogy and identity for all participants in the study.

Gender

Mrs. Lourdes was proud of her pilot global education course at Bart High School, *World Cultures*. She viewed this course as distinct from the *World History* alternative in that it emphasized issues, moreso than, as she said, "straight history." Similarly, Mrs. Brandy of Sunny Brook boasted that *Comparative*

World Issues "...is the best course I've ever been connected to"...because it offered so much for the students to learn." While neither woman subscribed to the label of feminist outright, both were personally interested in women's issues. When I asked Mrs. Lourdes what topics she emphasized in the course, she said, "We did a lot of women's rights" because she believed it generated student interest. Specifically, her class had done a comparison of the role of women in Saudi Arabia and their lives to "understand how it is for women over there." Topics such as rape, adultery and spousal relations in other societies were emphasized throughout her course. I observed a discussion in Mrs. Lourdes class about the role of women in Medieval Europe, emphasizing in great detail the role of Joan of Arc.

Mrs. Lourdes' students detected her emphasis on women's issues in *World Cultures* and her subsequent characterization of these topics. The following excerpt is taken from a joint interview with Randy and Irena, both students of Mrs. Lourdes:

> Gaudelli- How often does Mrs. Lourdes tell you her thoughts on topics being studied?
> Irena- She does tell us how she feels sometimes. She didn't agree with the girls not being able to go to school in some countries and not being able to go into the army, and not being able to marry who you wanted. That was another thing, that if you disobeyed your family, they would have to kill you in public, because you dishonored them. And if they didn't kill you, they had to send you away.
> Randy-When, ah, girls do all the cooking (laughs)...she talks about that.
> Irena- He means stereotypes, when she talks about the women and men. Women have to stay in the house. The women, I mean, the girls in our class argued that they should be equal and the men should help out at home and the boys say "No, they should have the babies and stay home!"
> Randy-The woman should be at home...
> Irena- (to Randy) What you trying to say! Women can't do men's work!?
> Randy-Women should be home!
> Irena- (gestures to Randy) We talk about this sometimes in class.
> Gaudelli- Who would Mrs. Lopez agree with in this debate?
> Irena- She agrees with the girls!
> Gaudelli- Why?
> Randy-She be a woman...
> Irena- No, not because of that, because it be her own opinion. There are different kinds of opinion. Sometimes she agrees with you guys.
> Randy-No, she only listens to the girls...
> Irena- Because the answers that you guys say are stupid...like not related to the work that we do.
> (Randy shakes head in disgust)
> Irena- See, this is the things that happen.

This provocative dialogue illustrates the tension that I sensed in observing Mrs. Lourdes' *World Cultures* class on gender issues. Students sat isolated from one another according to gender, with the exception of an openly homosexual male student who sat with the girls. There was always at least a six-

foot divide in the middle of the room between the girl and boy clusters. Interestingly, Mrs. Lourdes usually sat facing the girls' side of the room and delivered lectures to this area, only making contact with the boys' side when a disruption was occurring. The boys perceived, as indicated by Randy, that Mrs. Lourdes was on the girls' side, figuratively and literally. This bias was further illustrated by frequent encounters with women's issues in the course.

This is a key incident in that it illustrates the effect of a teacher's identity upon their pedagogy. Students saw the connection of information studied in the course (i.e., gender discrimination in Saudi Arabia) and classroom tensions between boys and girls. The gender bravado apparent in the room, not uncommon among 14 year olds in general, seemed to be exacerbated by Mrs. Lourdes' constant emphasis of these issues, what she referred to as "gender wars." The girls interviewed in this class were very positive about the teacher and the course, while the male students were even more negative than their counterparts in the other global education courses taught at Bart. The negativity was manifested in frequent interruptions, inattention and a fight between two boys.

Mrs. Brandy of Sunny Brook High School also felt a strong personal commitment to teaching women's issues. Mrs. Brandy said: "I always tell them (the students) for 5000 years guys have been in charge and we need to change that! You can't have a woman in a man's government, you've got to have all of them in government (laughs)!" She clarified these remarks, saying that she makes these types of comments in class to "lighten the mood." During one of her classes, a student was making a presentation on Eva Peron of Argentina. Mrs. Brandy spoke glowingly of Eva as a hero to poor people because of her ability to identify with the plight of common Argentineans. She chose to focus solely on female genital cutting in the study of Africa, emphasizing the indignity that it causes women. She addressed the role of women in Islam at great length through showing the film *Not Without My Daughter* and in subsequent classroom discussions.

Occupation

Mr. Sidner was recently hired by Valley High School after completing his degree to become a teacher, a significant career switch. He had been in the military for approximately five years, including a tour of duty in the Persian Gulf War. Mr. Sidner was proud of his career in the military, elaborating on his

broad travel experiences during his time served and the opportunities this provided for learning about the world and its people. He spoke enthusiastically of these experiences, adding rich detail about his military travels and the people he met along the way.

Mr. Sidner explained how he frequently drew on his military experiences in teaching *World Cultures*, often exaggerating a bit to capture students' attention. He explained, "I'll say things like, 'I was put into a *hot zone*... in the Persian Gulf War!' which gets their attention...." He used this technique to capture the attention of his students and motivate them. Mr. Sidner's class was littered with military lingo, including phrases like: "Get into the trenches!" and "Gather up troops!" and "School is going to be a war zone," in reference to what might happen at Valley as a result of the Columbine High School shootings. He had a special ability to link topics together, comparing the violence in Colorado schools with his own exposure to violence. During one observation, he said:

> What makes us like to watch people kill each other? I can't make sense of it (Columbine)... it is a senseless killing. I've been in places where bullets are flying and all people say is "hit the deck...get down...move, move, move (dramatically)!" I've seen Rangers who were taught to kill with these (raising his hands)...dead (neck breaking gesture)!"

The students seemed genuinely interested in Mr. Sidner's military background, often asking questions like, "What would you do if you were asked to fight in Serbia?" and "Do you think we will ever have a draft again?" These questions would often lead to lively discussions about far-ranging topics such as stealth spy planes, nuclear capabilities and civilian casualties. Mr. Sidner chose to teach about the war in Serbia for at least the first ten minutes of class, stating: "We're going to be tracking this thing for the first few minutes of class from now (April) all the way until June, if it goes that long." Interestingly, his colleagues at Valley High School, Mrs. Finberg and Mrs. Solotore, only briefly mentioned the conflict, while Mr. Sidner shifted the entire focus of the course to teaching about events in Kosovo. Students had a debate about the relative merits of intervention in Kosovo and did independent research for a group presentation about various global military conflicts, including: the Persian Gulf War, Kosovo, Israel/Palestinian conflict and the India/Pakistan turmoil. By comparison, again, Mrs. Finberg and Mrs. Solotore did not address these topics nor did they indicate their intention to do so.

Family History and Religion

Mrs. Finberg's emphasis and characterization of global education issues seemed to be colored by her personal background as well. Mrs. Finberg's parents were Holocaust survivors. She talked at length about how these experiences affected her upbringing, often making her feel appreciative for the life she had, one which her parents were denied as children in Nazi controlled Europe. Mrs. Finberg's parents were being transported to a certain death at Bergen-Belsen after two years of labor at a work camp, which they later described as "having it easy" in comparison to other Holocaust victims. She spoke emotionally about their liberation.

Mrs. Finberg was born in Munich, Germany at the end of World War II. Her family immigrated to the United States after the war and she was raised in the tiny, rural town of Estell Manor, New Jersey, one of the only Jews in the community. She recalled vividly a painful memory of her childhood when she encountered anti-Semitism:

> I was in kindergarten and there were about 20 kids in the class. Passover came along and my parents kept me out of school for two days. When I came back, my girlfriend and I were out playing. I heard this boy say, "Let's get the Jew girl!" and it didn't sink in right away, but eventually I realized…that I was the only Jew in school! So I turned to see the boys carrying a snake on a shovel in my direction. I knew I could never outrun them so I ran to the school and disrupted and yelled what was happening. I remember the look on the teacher's face being very perturbed. About two and a half weeks later we moved, but I was always scared.

Mrs. Finberg's status as a religious minority and her family's horrific experiences seemed to have affected the manner in which she approached *World Cultures* teaching with regard to the content selection, emphasis and characterization of course material.

Mrs. Finberg took her *World Cultures* students to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. Mrs. Finberg explained how she used to "hesitate to teach about the Holocaust, but over the years I've become very passionate about it." She had completed the unit on the Holocaust just prior to my arrival. She recounted the students' motivation to learn about the Holocaust, the first topic that really excited their interest. She sees the Holocaust as a vehicle for teaching students moral behavior. She said:

> I have an article that ...appeared in the Saturday newspaper about a young man ...who drew a swastika on a Jewish student's desk and made anti-Semitic remarks. That's something I should share with my students, and that's really the reason I study the Holocaust...we need to make people aware of hate! What it looks like, that it's not acceptable, how do we deal with it when we see it, to become active and not to be a bystander. Kids have a tendency to think, "Well, I'm not going to go charging over there telling these people what to do..." but there are other ways to do it! That's another thing we teach in the Holocaust...what's resistance? Resistance wasn't having a gun, but it was living a day longer, giving someone bread or boots to run through the forest. Kids realize in their own lives, that they don't have to break up that fight, but don't stand there and applaud it...go and get help. You can do things to lessen the violence and the hate in your own society.

Mrs. Finberg also relied upon her Jewish identity in teaching about Judaism as a part of the course of study. She recounted:

> In the beginning of the school year, when we got to Judaism, I did a Shabat with them and they got totally into that. I was the mom and they were the children, and they asked "When's dad coming home?" We role-played it and they were totally interested, respectful and interested. They went along with it very affectionately, there was a bonding. Everything that you do that you share with them, that you're not just this person behind the desk, I just think it helps break the ice a little bit.

Mrs. Finberg was aware that she drew upon her identity to teach the course and saw this as a great advantage in her pedagogy. She clearly indicates in the last sentence her desire to cultivate understanding and empathy for other people in her students through her personal experiences.

Mrs. Finberg's students were very much aware of the religious background of their teacher. The three students interviewed from her class all knew about her background. They echoed Mrs. Finberg's sentiments that it was an asset to have a teacher with a different background upon which to draw. Jane said: "Mrs. Finberg, she's really good because she teaches from different points of view. I know that she's Jewish and she teaches about her religion. She taught us about why they have different beliefs. I love her teaching! She's the best!" It is interesting to note that Jane described herself as a Born Again Christian, but enjoyed the fact that her teacher was from a religious minority in Farmers' Knoll.

Ethnicity and Athletics

Mr. Gordon of Bart High School was an African-American veteran of 28 years in this large city school system. He was nearing the end of his teaching career, indicating the possibility of coaching gymnastics full time. Mr. Gordon has received international acclaim for a gymnastic program that he

began to help urban youths redirect their lives. His tumblers have won international championships as a result of his tremendous commitment and effort to their athletic and personal growth. He was understandably proud of this aspect of his life, as well as his identity as an African-American.

Mr. Gordon felt that he could connect with his students in a special manner because of his background as an urban African-American. He often compared what it is like to be a black person in other societies to which he has traveled with the United States. He explained:

> They (the African-American students) benefit from me because it is more personalized and I can bring in the African-American angle to the course. China doesn't have racism towards blacks...it is not part of their culture. It is good in a sense that I can come back and tell my students. It is a different thing, because there is a certain amount of racism all over the world, but it is not always projected against blacks, like in the United States. In other parts of the world, you are being treated as a person and not a black person. If I'm over in France, they are not going to assume that I stole it. But if you are in the US, and ten black kids are there, they are going to assume that one of them did it and start frisking them and harassing them.

Mr. Gordon spoke with great passion about his students, concerned for their ability to cope in an information-based economy, lacking the proper educational background to equip them. He believed that these deficits, coupled with being an African-American, doomed many of his students to dead-end jobs at best and hopeless poverty at worst. He felt stifled by what he believed to be a negligent school administration who did not direct the wealth of state funds to help students. He seemed to direct more of his energies into his community-based athletic program. In this optional gymnastic program, Mr. Gordon felt more able to positively influence young people as compared to his teaching.

Mr. Gordon also drew upon his athletic background regularly as an analogy for explaining events in other societies. I observed Mr. Gordon lecturing about the fall of the Roman Empire. He analogized this to the career of heavyweight boxer Mike Tyson, saying, "He lost his crown because he did not train properly. Every great champion, if they become too over confident and they stop training, will lose." At this point in the lesson a young girl echoed what he was saying about Tyson in terms of Rome, "They started slacking...they didn't work no more..." to which Mr. Gordon responded, "Exactly!" He commented about this lesson in an interview the following day:

> I am able to bring some of these things in, because, as I said, the reason that black athletes do well, it is the poverty that makes you try harder. My theory came to light when I went to Russia and saw they were so damn poor, they didn't have a way out of the poverty. So if that guy loses, he goes back to be tucked away somewhere working his brains out for a couple of dollars. I met engineers who were making $40 per month. And this athlete had on a leather coat and new boots, and he could go to McDonalds, so that motivated him.

Mr. Gordon consistently blended these two aspects of his identity, being African-American and a coach, to illustrate a social phenomenon with which many of his students were all too familiar: poverty. His lectures often took on the quality of an inspired sermon, using information about other societies as a way of constructing morals for how his students could overcome their obstacles, barriers with which he too was familiar.

Travel

Travel was another aspect of teacher identity that had an influence on the pedagogy of teachers in their global education courses. Mrs. Solotore spent a semester in Europe in college and frequently drew upon this experience in constructing lessons. Mrs. Wegian planned annual trips to Europe for students and used the information gained in other societies for *Comparative World Issues*. She said, "Travel really has a lot to do with what you teach, when you actually go there and see how other cultures live and the kinds of history that they have and art...." Mr. Cortez delighted in telling his students, many of whom were Latino, stories about his extensive travels in Spain. Aya, a student of Mr. Cortez, said how much she enjoyed learning about the Spanish and how they live today.

Mr. Sidner, as discussed in a previous section, was one of the most widely traveled in the study. He reveled in sharing details about his trips with students and saw this as one of his great assets in the classroom. Mr. Gordon, another teacher with wide travel experiences beyond Europe, also saw this as a unique opportunity for him to bring the world to his Urbana students. Mrs. Finberg brought faux diamonds when the students were studying the resources of Africa and other artifacts from her travels. She indicated after this class that it helps students to have something to touch and to see when they are learning about another place.

Data Related to Teacher Beliefs about Relativism

The tensions inherent in relativism are unavoidable in global education classrooms. Even teachers who would prefer to avoid such controversy will likely find themselves fielding student inquiries about ethical judgments, which many feel unprepared to engage. Lamy (1989) and Schukar (1993) observed that it is impossible to avoid controversy when teaching international or global issues. The eclectic content of global education lends itself readily to the use of comparisons between societies. Comparison is an integral part of understanding, allowing one to organize new ideas into existing cognitive schema, "...so that the learner achieves a reconstruction of his cognitive pattern" (Hunt and Metcalf, pp. 36-7, 1968). This often leads, however, to evaluation, either explicitly or implicitly. Most of the topics encountered in global education, and the social studies in general, have the potential for inquiries into notions of right and wrong.

> As Kegley and Raymond (1998) assert, morality lies at the core of foreign policy considerations:
>
> There is a tendency to ignore or dismiss discussions of ethical behavior in world affairs, even though questions of injury, retribution, and reconciliation are central to the human condition and...to most issues on the global agenda. (p.6)

Global educators are compelled to address issues of morality in studying the world without the benefit of having learned moral considerations in their own study of global topics.

Ambiguity about relativism was a consistent pattern found among most participants in the study. Teachers generally would have preferred not to talk about this contentious issue, despite its ubiquitous quality in the course. Observations, interviews and document analyses consistently demonstrated the centrality of controversial issues, and thus, relativism and universalism, in global education. During the initial interview with Mr. White, department chair of Sunny Brook, the ambiguity that characterized his thinking about relativism was apparent.

> It (the cultural framework for the class) was some consistent way of making sense of culture and being able to analyze culture...analyze, make sense. I'm very leery of using "compare," that's one of the things we try to get away from which is the idea that there are differences. Let's understand the differences, but be careful about judging difference.
> Gaudelli/question- Can you elaborate on this idea?
> White- (extended pause) Well...so many of these kids, well they're not alone, people will say because it is not my way, it is wrong or bad or inappropriate or silly. I want to be careful, though... we just didn't get into the idea that anything is ok. I mean we look at infanticide, and can you say that's the way they do it so that makes it ok? I want to raise that issue....are there values that are better values? That leads to some fascinating discussions, and you put it in quotes..."what makes a value a better value?" When I was

> teaching (*Contemporary World Issues*) I would do similar things in some of the countries. I want to be careful not to say, because they do it that way, it was ok…there weren't right or wrong answers, but I wanted kids to be able to answer those questions.

It seemed from Mr. White's comments that he was sorting out his own thoughts and apparent misgivings about relativism during the interview. He stammered, backtracked, offered caveats and clarifications, and, in the end, provided a muddled explanation of relativism vis-à-vis the curriculum. He also noted in the interview the fundamental nature of comparisons in understanding new information (see Hunt and Metcalf, 1968).

Teachers throughout the study echoed Mr. White's comments. The following are excerpts from teacher interviews in all three schools, demonstrating the teachers' uncertainty about relativism in the study of controversial issues:

> Mrs. Lourdes- Bart High School
> What I'm looking for is that they get a viewpoint of what is going on in the world around them, that they just don't see themselves as isolated, that there is more out there, that there are different types of people…to learn tolerance, really…to learn tolerance.
> Gaudelli/question- What if a student suggested in studying the Holocaust that everyone should be more tolerant of the Nazis?
> I would try to point to them…you should be tolerant of people as human beings, but their behavior was totally wrong and out there and try to make them understand why their behavior was so bad. It is one thing to tolerate them as a human being, but you cannot tolerate the behavior, and there definitely needs to be that distinction.

> Mrs. Wegian- Sunny Brook High School
> We deal with female circumcision or female genital mutilizations (sic) or whatever you want to call it…we look at that. We talk about, do we have the right, does anybody have the right to go into another culture and tell them this is wrong and this is right. I don't know if I can answer that question, the kids are very much, because of who they are and how they were raised it is very difficult for them to think that we should go over and do something. Thank goodness (the students say that)! For me, that's always good to look at a wrong no matter where it is and say, gee, you shouldn't be doing that. Do we have that right, I don't know.

> Mrs. Solotore- Valley High School
> Gaudelli/question- What if a student suggested in studying the Holocaust that everyone should be more tolerant of the Nazis?
> OK (surprised) umm, I guess you would have to look at the whole picture, Yes, culture, but when you look at something that is harmful…and not too accepted, too drastic, too out of the mainstream, I would just try to approach it in that way. If they didn't accept that answer, I would have to regroup and you know, (gesturing quotation marks) every person is entitled to their opinion and if that's what you believe then I can't take your opinion away from you…But if you look at it rationally, do you think that this is something that a rational person would do, or certain people would do? You know…?

The teachers were generally aware of and perplexed by the paradoxical quality of relativism. Teachers in the study struggled to find defensible criteria for drawing the line between appreciating the diverse lifestyles of other societies and evaluating particular behaviors and/or beliefs. The most commonly asserted criterion for teachers as to the limits of non-judgment was the threshold of harm. Teachers frequently asserted that behavior was acceptable as long as it did not harm anyone. Mr. Gordon of Bart suggested:

> Yeah…ah…tolerance to a point. I would try and explain it that there are degrees of tolerance and you can go and work as long as…the key rule is that as long as you are not bothering or hurting anyone, then it is ok. But if you see that it (the cultural behavior) is going to pose some type of danger for a particular group or whatever, then you can't go with it. Listen, they have certain rights, but their rights shouldn't go too much further then what a human being is supposed to enjoy. You can tell everyone what you think, as long as you don't bother anybody, but if your group has been proven to be not tolerant of another group, then they should not be tolerated.

Mr. Gordon added to the "do no harm" criterion an additional standard; namely, a group's history with regard to rights violations.

Mrs. Gormley of Sunny Brook also asserted that the threshold for acceptable cultural behavior should be the "do no harm" principle. She was attempting to delineate the distinction between a religion and a cult, saying:

> I guess you could say they (cults) focus on the negative, on spells, on hurting people, those would definitely be, you know, where you seem to have gotten off course, self-destruction like Jim Jones, like weapons, David Koresh…looking for those things that are indications that the religion is not quite a religion anymore.

This distinction was important to Mrs. Gormley because it allowed her to judge those actions that were not "religious." The fact that many "mainstream" religions have also participated in "hurting people" did not seem to affect Mrs. Gormley's reasoning. Excluding a group from the "legitimate" category to which it belongs leaves it unprotected by relativism and "legitimately" open to critique. I have termed this criterion the categorical exclusion.

Various teachers drew the distinction between judgment and non-judgment on the categorical exclusion. When queried about the limits of relativism, some of the teachers suggested that certain actions

did not deserve the mantel of relativist protection since they were not part of the "culture" category. Mr. Cortez of Bart High School responded strongly to the question about non-judgment of the Nazis, saying:

> Any violent sect does not equate to a culture; they are not on the same level. Any given culture which is a culture by definition, does not infringe on any other culture's rights. Any culture is fine provided it does not go to the point of hurting someone else, to that level. Nazis are not a culture, it is a sect. German culture at that time was a valid culture, not Nazis.

The notion of validity is what drives the categorical exclusion. Teachers felt comfortable limiting the applicability of relativism as long as the group, event and/or behavior was not part of a socially recognized category like "culture." In the categorical exclusion criterion, if a group like Nazis, can be defined as outside of the category, then it can be excluded from the protection of non-judgment.

The lack of clarity with regard to the teacher's beliefs about relativism in global education manifested itself in classrooms. This was most apparent in the willingness, or lack thereof, on the part of teachers to engage students in study of controversial issues. The majority of teachers in this study attempted to capture their students' attention by capitalizing on students' interest in seemingly exotic practices. The following excerpt of an observation from Mr. Cortez' classroom at Bart High School illustrates the attention grabbing technique of controversial issues:

> Mr. Cortez said " who wants to hear a gross story?!" The students were moving around the room and chatting informally with each other. After approximately one minute of student inattention, Mr. Cortez reiterated more loudly, "who wants to hear a gross story?!" Mr. Cortez then used the countdown method for all students to return to their seats. The teacher said, "Do you remember where the foot-binding term came from." Mr. Cortez said "it is so gross." He explained foot-binding as a way that women's feet in China were broken to make them smaller. The teacher said "have you ever seen when women walk around with itty-bitty pity feet and the man who would say yeeahhh!" (sexually suggestive). Three girls yelled "eeww." Once students yelled "that is disgusting!" which was followed by general indecipherable loud chatter among the students. The bell rang signaling the end of class.

Mr. Cortez used this story as a means of involving the students in class and having them pay attention to the lesson, which focused on cultural sharing between Japan and China. He was able to capture their attention, but at the cost of making the Chinese appear more "strange" and "exotic" than they may already look to his students at Bart High School, where there are no students of Chinese origin. Mr. Cortez is clearly promoting student judgment of this cultural behavior, which in this case may be an acceptable

judgment to most people. However, he is also exoticizing and trivializing this cultural activity without examining the historical context of the behavior or guiding the students to examine ways in which women in their society injure themselves in the name of beauty (e.g., cosmetic surgery). Judgments may be desirable on practices such as this, but one would hope any conclusion would be based upon a reasoned inquiry, rather than a revival tent-quality, mob discourse demonstrated here.

Mr. Ingresso, a colleague of Mr. Cortez at Bart, also explained how he focuses on cultural differences and controversies to capture the attention of students. He said,

> Well, one of the problems is getting students' attention, with this kind of work (world history), it doesn't grab them. Except, if you can somehow relate it or personalize it where they can really understand. So you talk about how each sex is viewed in a particular country as compared to here in the US, more likely you can get a rise out of them, at least the female students, but in many cases the boys too, because it is something that they can comprehend, it is not an abstract concept, it is something that you can deal with. For example, foot-binding, how that was a sign of beauty. And that is fascinating because they (the students) don't understand...well, how can that be!? they will say. That's something that will catch their attention every time!

The teachers believed that the course could be "personalized," as Mr. Ingresso explained, by relating it to the experience of the students. The technique seemed to work, as students interviewed from both Mr. Cortez' and Mr. Ingresso's classes remarked that this lesson was one of the most memorable. Aya's reaction to Mr. Cortez' lesson is referenced in the previous section. Kathrine, one of Mr. Ingresso's students, explained:

> Gaudelli/question- What topics interest you the most in your world history class?
> Kathrine- Yeah, when we was studying about the Chinese and the foot binding. Now that right there got my attention because I was wondering why Chinese people have small feet, and to come to think of it, that is why they have small feet. I was wondering at first why anyone would want their child to have small feet?! Why they would break it to make small feet, but I guess back then, like he (Mr. Ingresso) said, it was a sign of beauty. I suppose every woman in their time wants to be beautiful, so they decide to do this foot-binding thing. But I just wonder, what was the real purpose? He told me it was beauty, but I said it gots to be something else, and I don't know one person that would cripple their child just for beauty. It caught my attention, but I wasn't agreeing with it.

Kathrine's reaction suggests that this particular pedagogical technique did capture her attention, as this interview was conducted one month after the lesson was taught. Her commentary also suggests, however, that many unanswered questions remain about why foot binding existed. There is even some healthy

skepticism about what the teacher has offered as the functionality of foot-binding, avenues of curiosity that were not pursued in the class.

World History Cultures teachers at Bart were sharing a video, *Samurai Warriors*, to show to students as part of the unit on Japan. The video was extremely violent and graphic, glamorizing the violence of Samurais without providing a context for understanding feudal Japan. The teachers joked in the faculty room about how the students are titillated by the extreme violence in the film. The teachers assured each other that the students would "like this one!" and found it to be a way of "covering" feudal Japan easily while keeping the students' attention.

As Mr. Sidner from Valley indicated, what interests the students is, "Death, dismemberment and sex…basically conflict. I can guarantee it will get their attention every time." He did not seem happy that his students were interested in these aspects of life, but played to their interests anyway. Teachers are in this sense reinforcing the areas of interest of the students, however depraved, and validating and propagating a socially diffused interest in violence and coercive sexuality.

Mr. Sidner provided a detailed description of what he referred to as a model lesson wherein he employs the shock quality of cultural differences.

> I have a lesson that I've done before and it's called the "Women of Iran." It is a list of 20 things that a man is allowed to do to his wife if she doesn't do what she is supposed to do. I can say, "Well, listen to this…these things that happen in Iran…" because I've got that interest and I can say, (with unction) "Can you believe this?! The way that they treat their women???" So the reaction is, "I can't believe it!" "I would…I 'd hit em, I'd knock him out!" And I say, OK, that's good of you to say, now let's do a little role-play. Then I'll do a role play and I'll say, OK, come up here (to a female student) and I'm your husband, and I get intense on them, and I'll say, I want you to cook my meal, and why isn't that laundry done!? The girl (student) then goes like this (ignoring me) and I go Don't you ever talk to me!!! (screaming)…. like that, and it and it scares the crap out of them, I kind of go like this, I raise my hand, and at first some girls will react like this (gesturing to fight back) which is good, and some girls cower, you know, and I say now you know what it feels like to have to go through that. What I normally do, the last thing I do, I show about 5-7 minutes in the class, and I end it with a movie clip *Not Without My Daughter*. Then I say, what would you do (dramatically)? I end the class on that note. So it all hits home, because I try to show adaptations of real events. You know it's shocking for them, it is, it's shocking for them, in a way that they are removed from it…I try to get them to feel compassion, you know, for these people.
> Gaudelli/question- Is that the goal?
> Mr. Sidner- Yeah, that's the goal.

Through his description, we see that Mr. Sidner is foregoing reasoned inquiry, at least in this lesson, for an emotional, guttural response in his students. Mr. Sidner's approach is somewhat different than those at Bart

High School in that his attention grabbing technique is somewhat of a morality play (e.g., "Don't let this happen to you!"). In so doing, he is reinforcing the sense among students that the people and societies being studied are very different from their own. Further, he is implying that students should be vigilant not to become like Iranian women, or in the case of his male students, to regard Iranian men with greater respect because of their power over women.

Some of the teachers were even aware that this type of sensationalistic teaching might be counter-productive to the larger aims of understanding differences in the course, but engaged in it anyway because of the engrossment of the students. Mrs. Brandy from Sunny Brook explains how she addresses female genital cutting in sub-Saharan Africa:

> Gaudelli/question- How do students respond when you begin studying Africa with female genital mutilation?
> Mrs. Brandy- They're horrified! They are absolutely horrified. What I do is we read several articles on female genital mutilization (sic) and we discuss them. I think the students leave it with the sense that...it's almost absurd to them, because it is so unheard of. We talk about how parts of that (FGM) are alive and well in the United States. I think that they come away with the sense that ummm (long pause)... people in other parts of the world, are...primitive and dumb, and how could they, that kind of thing. I don't know how positive it is in their minds, it may even feed into their negative thinking about Africa, but I do it anyway.

Mrs. Brandy asserted that teaching about "others" as strange and exotic may undermine the purposes of global education, but, in the short term, may interest the students. Anyone who has faced a group of apathetic adolescents to teach them information of which they are not remotely interested can identify with this temptation. The costs of reinforcing pervasive, negative stereotypes among students, however, which Mrs. Brandy ponders, are great indeed.

The teachers who did not sensationalize global education content engaged in the avoidance of controversial issues, in what Nelson, et al. (1987) have described as teacher self-censorship. It would be inaccurate to view these teachers as stodgy and straight-laced in their approaches to global education. These three actually were quite dynamic in the classroom, involving students in the class through discussions and activities. They did express, however, some reticence about engaging certain issues with their students, distinguishing them from the rest of the teachers in this study.

Their reasons for self-censorship were mostly related to the lack of maturity of their students. Mrs. Finberg said:

> I deal with controversial issues, ummm, I don't want to say often, but when you need to deal with them. I try to present both sides as fairly and balanced as I can, and ummm, I will express my opinion, when asked, but I will state that it is (only) my opinion. You can't avoid controversy, you know.
> Gaudelli/question- Why do you avoid discussing female genital mutilation with your students?
> Mrs. Finberg- Because I think, first of all, I don't think they understand the, the, technical, biological stuff about it and they would ask me how it is done and I am not comfortable with that. I think that they are just not mature enough to handle that without getting, not silly, but getting off on things that I wouldn't want to handle. So I don't get into that one.

This statement suggests that she is not entirely comfortable with engaging students in controversial matters, especially when compared to the "curiosity builders" in the study.

Mrs. Solotore, a colleague of Mrs. Finberg at Valley, also expressed some reservations about addressing controversial cultural practices. She indicated that controversies came up tangentially in class, but that she did not usually make a conscious effort to put disputatious issues before her students. She was more concerned with teaching students the "basics" about the world that "college prep students should know," such as geography and famous leaders of nations.

Mrs. Gormley, a teacher in the ethnically diverse Sunny Brook High School, proposed a compelling reason for avoiding controversial cultural practices, such as female genital mutilation. She said:

> I don't get into that as much as Brandy does (female genital cutting). I think that's a touchy subject and an uncomfortable subject, you know? Because of our diverse population, I don't know who has been subjected to that. You know, and umm, I would guess that there are people who have (been subjected to it)....and, so.
> Gaudelli/question- Do your students know about it?
> Mrs. Gormley- I don't think so, so ummm...that's one (issue) that I don't talk about.

Mrs. Gormley's sensitivity to the social setting of the school in which she teaches was her rationale for avoiding a controversial practice. It is interesting to note, however, that the curriculum guide of Sunny Brook specifically mentions female genital mutilation, whereas it is not identified in Valley where Mrs. Finberg avoids the topic. She also indicates her opposition to the practice in saying girls who may have been "subjected" to the practice. Mrs. Gormley, who also indicated that she avoids talking about all of Africa because there is "nothing positive to say," may see this practice as just another example of "African negativity."

The teachers in this study generally lacked a firm grasp of the philosophical debate surrounding relativism and universalism. The teachers searched for criteria to limit non-judgement in the classroom, but did not engage their students in this ethical reasoning. They generally felt uncomfortable with the compromises that were struck between universalism and relativism outside the classroom. Inside the classroom, they either sensationalized the controversial practices inherent in the course of study or tried to avoid those topics completely. While these strategies seem quite opposite, they accomplish the same objective with regard to ethical reasoning: a simplification of the quandary of relativism. This simplification grew out of a lack of clarity on the part of the individual teachers about this contentious debate.

Findings and Recommendation

The data collected suggest a number of findings that are important considerations in the implementation of global education curricula, as well as curricula throughout the social studies.

- Teachers' content selection and topic emphasis seems to be influenced by their identities when given substantial choice about how to present course material.
- Teachers may or may not be aware of the influence of their identities upon the manner in which they approach global education.
- The influence of teacher identity on course material is not deterministic or formulaic; rather, curricular flexibility raises the distinct possibility that teacher identity may shape their pedagogy.
- Teachers lack clarity as to the debate surrounding cultural relativism, despite its ubiquitous quality in global education classrooms.
- Teachers either avoid or sensationalize controversial issues in global education classrooms, stemming from their personal discomfort with engaging judgments in the classroom in a reasoned, methodical manner.

Ethnographic research is, by its nature, conceptually rich and highly localized. The local theory which emerges from this type of research needs to be examined in light of new contexts to achieve a greater understanding of the nature of social studies pedagogy. The extent to which these findings are generalizable to most social studies teachers, however, should remain an open question for further inquiry.

One recommendation that seems to emerge from this research is the need to increase teacher consciousness about themselves, their backgrounds, identities and beliefs. Freire (1990) described "critical consciousness" as a central attribute in making a more just society (p.19). Giroux (1985) urged teachers to become transformative intellectuals in order to defend public schools. He urged teachers to employ scholarly reflection to assist students in becoming effective citizens in a democratic society. Global education teachers, based upon these findings, need to have a heightened "critical consciousness" that will allow them to understand and accommodate how their identities affect their classroom pedagogy. As transformative intellectuals, teachers would become more knowledgeable about the philosophical debates, like relativism, which are central to their teaching. This awareness will certainly lead to a more informed manner of practice that does not sensationalize or avoid controversy, but places it at the center of social studies instruction.

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